1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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Method of wearing the hair.—In former times the men wore their hair in two long braids, although some seem to have affected the Sauk and Fox roach. The scalp along the parting of the hair was always painted, the color varying with individuals. There is no indication of any distinctions in the method of wearing the hair among the various clans as found among the Osage. 302 [177]

A variety of coiffures exist among the Winnebago women at the present day and the assumption that these are all recent is unwarranted. It seems probable that in the old days the hair was usually worn in one braid, which on festive occasions was inclosed in a case. This consisted of two parts—a rectangular piece of broadcloth beaded, and long strips of beaded work (pl. 28).

Earrings and bracelets. At the present time earrings are fashioned either of 10-cent pieces strung together or of various ornaments of German silver. Strings of beads also are worn occasionally. Bracelets now are made generally of German silver, while in former times beaded or quillwork buckskin was used. 301 [178]

Arm bands and necklaces.—Arm bands are made either of German silver or beaded work. The necklaces consist of long strings of various articles, as modern wampum, seeds, and elk teeth.

Belts, as well as cross belts, are now either beaded or woven, but formerly they were always woven from buffalo hair. Shell gorgets are generally of the type shown in plates 22, 24, 26, *b*. Tight collars are now made of beaded work. Bandoliers consist of long sashes with bags attached; both sash and bag are always gorgeously beaded. The bandoliers are worn in three ways, with the bag hanging on the right side, on the left side, or in front. Often the same individual wears two or three bandoliers. Garters are now made of beaded work; formerly these were generally made of the skins of various animals, preferably the polecat (pls. 27, 28, 29, 30, *b*). 243

Headdress and taildress.—The Winnebago headdress has been well described by Skinner (op. cit., p. 203), as follows: 301 237

> The typical headdress is a roach or comb-like ornament woven from deer's hair and generally dyed red. A carved bone, somewhat like an elongate isosceles triangle in shape, spread out this roach and was attached near the front to another tubular bone in which an eagle feather was inserted. Often the latter was ornamented with dyed horse hair and rattlesnake rattles. . . . The whole was fastened on the crown of the head slightly back of the forehead. It was usually pinned to the hair, the scalplock serving to hold it on.

A taildress, consisting of the tail of some animal, was worn only at certain dances, particularly the Horucka.

Hunting

In their original habitat hunting was the most important means of subsistence of the Winnebago. Practically all game available was 224

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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539 something. Ha ha, our friends have come. Sit opposite (three
614 opposite said). As long as we live we will attend to the fire for
776 you." "Listen, our friends, they are speaking." "Ha, ha, sit opposite me" (a new clan has entered). They sat down. "You Water-spirit clan, what relation, my friend, will you be to me?" "What relation shall I be to you? You will be my chief." "Good. Now listen, a dog is howling. Let us wait for him." So the Thunderbirds waited for him. "Let us call him." "Ha, ha, my friend, we wish to teach the two-legged walkers something. As we say so will the Winnebagoes ever be." Again the Thunderbirds spoke, "Listen, some one has said something. Two people have come. We will call them the Buffalo clan."

The Warrior Clan

INTRODUCTION

614 There are not many members of this clan left, although it seems to have been quite important in the old days, to judge from the number of effigy mounds all over Wisconsin. There seems little doubt but that those bird effigies with unsplit tail are supposed to represent this clan.

Only one version of the origin myth was obtained. There is little
[552 to be said about it except that it mentions the fact that it was cus-
266] tomary to have names for dogs. One statement seems to point toward cannibalism. As was pointed out in the preceding discussion, there is a boastful claim that they were chiefs.

614 Although, at the present time, this clan is known only as the
● 178 *wonayire ho'ekek* (fear-inspiring men), its older name was hawk, and as such it was still known to J. O. Dorsey. When the present name began to be popular, it is impossible to say, but we feel confident that it has been in partial use for a considerable length of time. The change is quite in line with the rather common habit of referring to the Thunderbird clan as the chief clan and the Bear clan as the soldier clan. In other words, we have a name indicative of the functions of a clan superseding the older animal name. It is only in the case of the Warrior clan, however, that this substitution has been complete.

614 There is no indication in the myth that the Warrior clan was ever localized. A number of informants stated that the clan was but a division of a general bird phratry. In version 2 of the Thunderbird clan origin myth it is stated that the second of the two brothers was the ancestor of the Warrior clan. Dorsey, as we have seen, obtained the same information.

[361 The Warrior clan seems to have had a lodge in the northwest
corner of the village. In this lodge they claimed that prisoners were

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

pagan ceremonies. In 1910 this delegation of leadership was clearly a recent tendency, conditioned, on the one hand, by the size of the reservation and the impossibility of Rave's being everywhere, and, on the other hand, by Rave's frequent absence on proselytizing missions. In 1913 it had already become customary for a number of men to hold the position of leader even when Rave was present. A further complication was introduced when Jesse Clay began giving the peyote ceremonies in the Arapaho manner, for he then stood in the same relation to his method of giving the ceremony as Rave stood to the older form. As we shall see, there was, even in 1908, a separatist movement led by Albert Hensley, which, if it had succeeded, would have given Hensley the same leadership that Rave enjoyed before him and that Clay subsequently acquired.

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Development of the Ritualistic Complex

From the accounts given by various members of the Peyote cult it is quite clear that Rave became interested in the peyote on one of his many trips to Oklahoma. According to the verbal account he gave, which differs in some respects from the account he subsequently dictated on the particular visit which resulted in his first eating the peyote, he was in a most distressed and unhappy condition of mind owing to the loss of his wife and children.[1] He went away from Winnebago with the intention of staying away as long as possible from the scene of his loss.

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Rave's account of his conversion gives a sufficiently dramatic picture of how he first ate the peyote and its immediate effects. In response to numerous questions as to how he was first induced to eat the peyote he always said that it was because he had been so frequently asked. It is, however, far more likely that he was passing through an emotional crisis at that particular time, and the requests that he partake of it and the inducements held out to him, made it easier for him to succumb then than on his previous visits.

To judge from Rave's remarks, his first belief in the peyote had nothing of the nature of a conversion to a new religion. It seems to have been similar to the average Winnebago attitude toward a medicinal plant obtained either as a gift or through purchase. There is only one new note—stimulation by a narcotic.

Rave states that the peyote cured him of a disease with which he had been afflicted for a long time. After repeated requests his wife also consents to being treated; so he paints her face and, taking the rattle, sings peyote songs while she eats the peyote. His attitude

[1] In the account Rave himself gives he speaks of seeing his wife and children. As his verbal statement was complemented by other people, we are inclined to believe that in his dictated account of his conversion he had forgotten the actual state of affairs. It may, of course, be that in his ardent desire to show the marvelous effects of the peyote he permitted his memory to play him false.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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578 tested, on the ground that a man of X.'s character could not properly
794 perform the rites associated with that position. Rave, however,
159 retorted that the efficacy of the peyote, of any position connected with its cult, was in no way connected with the character of the performer, and that it was inherent in the peyote and in the Peyote ritual. Thereupon, after much parleying to and fro, Hensley formally seceded, taking with him a number of followers. The bulk of the peyote eaters, however, remained with Rave, and within a comparatively short time a number of Hensley's followers returned to Rave, so that in 1911 Hensley had merely a handful of people. Since then he has ceased to be a force, although his innovations have been retained by a number of the younger Peyote members, especially by those who read English.

In 1911 there was no unification of the ideas of Rave and Hensley. Since then, strange to say, although Hensley's attempt to set up his
[177] own religion failed utterly, his ideas and Christain innovations seemed to have triumphed completely. This, however, has gone hand in
[178] hand with a marked dropping off of enthusiasm. It appears now as if the Peyote cult has run its course. Some of the members have recently returned to the old pagan customs, others have practically become Christians, and many have become indifferent.

794 Unquestionably the most interesting of recent innovations is that
177 introduced by Jesse Clay, the account of which has been given be-
159 fore. This is, of course, the Arapaho manner of conducting the ceremony. At the present time it has none of the characteristics of the Winnebago ceremonial. Whether in the next few years it will develop any depends upon the interest manifested in it by the Peyote worshipers and upon the vitality of the Peyote movement in general.

It is extremely suggestive to compare what Rave introduced with the ceremony borrowed by Clay. The former introduced an isolated element, the peyote and its worship, and clothed it almost immediately in characteristic Winnebago forms. It can truly be said that although the peyote is an alien element, from the Winnebago viewpoint, everything else in the ceremony is and was from the beginning typically Winnebago. Clay's method of conducting the Peyote ceremonies, on the other hand, is entirely alien. For it ever to become popular with the large mass of Winnebago it will have to become thoroughly assimilated with the Winnebago background.

Dissemination of the Doctrine

Let us now see how the ideas of Rave and Hensley were transmitted in the tribe itself, who the first and the later converts were, in what the nature of their conversion consisted, and what they, in turn, brought to the new cult.

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP 12 Winnebago NP 12

$35 per thousand for number three size. The "buttons" are really branches of the Peyote Cactus (*Lophophora williamsii*), a small compact cactus growing from southern Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico down into old Mexico. The peyote religion was introduced to the Indians of the United States by peyote cults, among the Indians of Mexico. The Government strictly forbids possession of or traffic in these buttons, but the number of converts to the cult is on the increase.

On the other hand, the peyote Indians among the Winnebago have little regard for the medicine lodge Indians. They consider them benighted, old-fashioned and unwise. When an Indian joins peyote, according to them, he sees the error of his ways and the sacred, ceremonial objects of his past become of no value to him. In such cases, the field collector of some museum finds it easy to acquire excellent specimens of sacred objects. While still in use, an Indian would not part with his medicine bundle for money, but once it has been superseded by a change in faith, he becomes glad to realize almost anything for it. Such a bundle is valued by anthropologists according to the sacred objects it contains.

The peyote people that we met near Wisconsin Rapids did not bear out the poor name given them by the old pagans. They were industrious and proud of their religion. The peyote cult, there, shows considerable Christian missionary influence, in their acceptance of Jesus Christ as their deity. The medicine lodge people have never been interested in the translation of the Lord's Prayer but the Winnebago peyote followers use it as a chanted peyote song. It is called *Hilukanala gikaraj hanila,* (Lord prayer his). It follows thus:

Hianjinwila wagregi shanagre, lash hashinila wakajak nigigidek•jena.

"Our Father in heaven who dwells your name holy (let us) keep it. *Hunkma hashini'a hilaijik•jawina. Woshga hashinila manegi* Kingdom your come down (on earth). Doing yours on earth *ninck•jena wagregi jaske hinaki sheske manegi hilek•jena. Hanpdec* should in heaven like doing same on earth should be. This day *waiskapduc haniwila hunkuwianjc. Egi wazawoishana waniwila* bread daily ours give us. And then sins ours *waigitunawila wazahigishana waniwila waigitunawila sheke. Egi inke* forgive us sins yours and yours forgive us same. And then don't *wazawoishana wahicja hinutiwinine Ezi wowak•jega egi hingijilawige* (into) temptations deliver us. Our Lord and help us *kishipwiwine. Hunkmara nchashinigaja Egi homashjala nchashinigaja* get away Kingdom thy and power thy *Egi hoishagra nchashinigaja manegus•la jeskek•jena.* and glory thy forever Amen."

It will be noted that the Winnebago even have a word for "Amen," meaning to some extent "let it be that way," whereas among the Menomini Indians they have not translated it but articulate it as we do — Amen.

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12

CULTURAL CHANGE AMONG THE WISCONSIN WINNEBAGO

Nancy Oestreich

Introduction

Cultural change is one of the outstanding factors in the life of the Winnebago today. It is important to mention at the outset, however, that the following article does not purport to trace the long history of cultural change among the Winnebago, nor does it have any claim as a complete analysis; but, because of space limitations, it will serve merely as a passing observation of cultural change in a particular Indian group. The study is based primarily on observation of one small group of Winnebago during a period of five weeks. None the less, these data seem to comprise a fairly, though far from completely representative sample with which to work.

The Indians observed were family groups from almost all of the Winnebago communities scattered throughout the central part of the state. Our group, consisting of some 45 families, was predominately one of Wisconsin Winnebago, but also included three Winnebago families from Nebraska and one family each of the Chippewa, Menomini and Potawatomi tribes. The presence of these minorities within the larger group of Wisconsin Winnebago offered an interesting study of inter-land and intra-tribal contrasts.

The Wisconsin Winnebago prefer to live more or less independently in their native territory, Wisconsin, rather than join their friends and relatives on the Winnebago reservation located, by a whim of the government, in Nebraska. There is, however, a constant exchange of visits between the two groups.

In Wisconsin many of the Winnebago earn a living in the winter by trapping for the fur market, and in the summer by following various Wisconsin crops. The harvesting begins in the spring with the strawberry season, and ends in the fall with the gathering of cranberries.

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12

It was during the 1944 cherry season, a period extending from the early part of July to the middle of August, that the bulk of material was collected for this paper.

Attitudes Within the Changing Society

Opinions vary of course with Indians, according to the amount of education they have had, their native intelligence, or their personal interests. Furthermore, the contrast in attitudes between the older and the younger generations is a most significant feature.

It would be impossible to put age limits on the terms "older" and "younger," but an age between 45 and 50 seems to be the dividing line. One might also have to add a third classification: those individuals who grew up in the situation of the younger group, but upon reaching greater maturity tend toward the opinions of the older people.

The young people, through contact with the older generation, or by taking part in tourist-trade ceremonials, are apt to know the old dances and songs, but seem to feel that these things are pointless or merely a means of making a living. They have been living in an unstable, changing society since birth and follow along in the uncertain Indian-white pattern of culture with no particular ambitions or interests in what it may eventually produce in their own futures.

The young people from Nebraska contrasted strongly with those of Wisconsin in this respect, being generally more progressive and better educated; but it would be unreasonable to infer that this is a typical difference between the Wisconsin and Nebraska Winnebago since the representation of the Nebraska Indians in our group was so small.

Many of the older people, on the other hand, can remember when the Winnebago retained enough of their original culture to have a fairly complete and working social organization. They blame all the misfortunes of the tribe on the young people, who according to the old people, do just as they please in matters of morals, ethics and religion, and they furthermore have no respect for the opinions of the older men-

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
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178 182 561 bers of the tribe. The older generation does not generally try to resist the change, nor encourage it, but rather the tendency is to mourn the past. A few realize that the unhappy plight of the younger generation is but one of the many changes in their society brought on by the breakdown of tribal organization due to contact with white religion, liquor, and government.

[86] [626] Originally the training of the young was in the hands of the elders of the tribe and rules were put into effect by group controls; whereas now these controls have gone, and it is only in recent years and only among a few families that the idea of parental control is stressed in the same manner as in white society.

Consequently we have the picture of a younger generation following their particular whims and an older generation seeing the wrongs of such a situation but feeling powerless to relieve it.

Types of Cultural Change

178 Having become acquainted with the attitudes of members of a changing society, let us consider cultural change itself. For purposes of simplification we can break down our main heading of cultural change into four types.

1. We are all familiar with the direct Indian-to-white cultural change which is of so long standing, and so obvious that it hardly requires further explanation other than mentioning the Indians' use of white foods, houses, clothing, and the myriad other aspects of white culture which have become a part of the Indians' life.

2. One of the complexities of cultural change is that some customs taken over from the whites remain relatively static in the Indian society, but continue to change at a faster rate in the white group. A good example of this is in the realm of material culture. The women's buckskin dresses were of course long ago exchanged for broadcloth and other fabrics fashioned along Indian styles, but these were later replaced by calico dresses in the last century following the then current

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
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mode. The older women still prefer to wear this type of dress, and very often the ensemble includes moccasins rather than shoes on their feet and a blanket draped about their shoulders. Most of the young women, however, dress very much as white women of their own age. 178 ●

3. Another type of cultural change is found in the Indians modifying some aspect of white culture with elements of their original culture to suit their own needs and tastes. This is best illustrated by the trend that religion has followed among a large proportion of the tribe. Some of the Winnebago who have been enticed away from their old religion, and yet were not satisfied with orthodox forms of Christianity, have adopted the Peyote or Mescal Religion which they prefer to call The Native American Church. This did not originate among the Winnebago, but came in from the southwestern tribes about 50 years ago, and has even undergone changes among the Winnebago group. The Peyote religion is basically Christian, stressing the literal acceptance of the Bible and the strict following of Christ's teachings. It, however, embodies the use of a fairly harmless drug, peyote, which when taken in large enough quantities produces visions, so familiar in Indian religions. The use of a small drum, eagle feathers, and ornate rattles, as well as the burning of cedar leaves are included in the night-long ceremonies. This religion might be considered a transitional form between the so-called pagan religion and Christianity, but though it embodies characteristics of both religions, it appears to have reached a definite stabilized form and will probably undergo few changes in the future. 178 195 [276]

4. We also have change completely within the society from old Indian to new Indian traits. The old Indians tell of an original Winnebago language, very ancient and now almost completely forgotten, which has been replaced by a newer, but still very Indian type of language. In recent years the language has undergone other changes, but this is due to white contact. It is strange that the Winnebago of Wisconsin who have been forced to live in scattered groups and in close contact with whites, have maintained their language to a much greater extent than some of the Wisconsin Chippewa or Me- 178 191 [171]

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
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178 191 171 nomini who live on reservations and, it seems logical to assume, would be likely to consider themselves more of a cultural entity, and so be better equipped to preserve their language. None the less, this does not seem to be the case according to Chippewa and Menomini informants who claim that many of their younger people do not speak the tribal language, whereas a majority of even the smallest children among the Wisconsin Winnebago are bi-lingual.

178 535 In considering our four types of social change, we might almost add a fifth type, which arises from a reaction against white contact and is a tendency to return to old patterns, as in the case of the revival of the scalp and victory dances which practically died out after the last World War. These dances have come into prominence in the last year or so with the Indian boys again going on the "war-path."

Cultural Change and Cultural Stability

178 182 Although we are considering cultural change among the Wisconsin Winnebago, the picture at this point seems rather one-sided without some mention of resistance to cultural change. Despite the constant and long-continued process of change, there is still retained a surprising amount of old Indian culture. Christian missionaries and the Peyote Religion have not managed to do away with the Thunderbirds, Water Spirits, and the rest of the pagan hierarchy. The Medicine Lodge continues as an important factor in the life of many Wisconsin Winnebago. Unfortunately, the writer's data are limited regarding the present number and ages of the adherents to the pagan religion, or as they prefer to be called, **the conservative group.**

182 551 It is interesting to note that practically all of the Winnebago, whether from Wisconsin or Nebraska, whether Christian, conservative, or pagan, still refer to their children by ancient religiously determined names. They are used in preference to the Christian names which all Indians now possess. These Indian names for boys and girls are merely an indication of the order of age and sex of the children in any given family, and are not to be confused with clan names which are

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individually bestowed upon members of the conservative group. 182 551

The list of old Indian traits still found among the Wisconsin Winnebago could be extended at great length to include items of diet, clothing, religion, amusements, healing, social organization, and many other aspects of the culture, but of course cannot all be discussed in this article. There is, nevertheless, one final and important feature, and that is that the Indian definitely considers himself a member of a distinct race, and that differences in white and Indian outlook are inherent in the blood rather than due to societal processes. 182 [829]

Conclusion

From observation of current trends and from the reminiscences of informants, it seems safe to conclude that the pattern of change outlined above will be followed in coming years with an ever-increasing tendency of the Winnebago to take on more and more of the aspects of white culture. Naturally changes vary from community to community, but the overall picture of the forms of cultural change seems to hold true. 178

There is one important point which may affect the Winnebago in unforseen ways, and that is the present war. As far as influencing cultural change today, it is more of a nuisance than an acting force. True the Indians are notably patriotic in the purchase of war bonds, and Indian boys are in all of the fighting forces; but for the most part, except where tragedy strikes individual families, the Indian thinks of the war as apart from his affairs. Some older people still feel strongly about the irony of Indians fighting for a country they themselves already have lost. 178 722

There is, of course, the inconvenience of tire and gasoline rationing on a people who lead a semi-nomadic life, but in our group, as far as the writer could ascertain, this did not constitute a great problem.

Many Indians have begun working in defense factories since the outbreak of the war, but even then they manage to stay in fairly isolated groups, as witness the Badger Ordnance Plant,

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where the majority of Indian workers live in a separate camp, and the camp itself is somewhat divided according to the different tribes located there.

However, the war will undoubtedly have its social affect when the Indian soldiers return from an existence of strict discipline to the semi-nomadic life of the Winnebago group. Even the veterans present at this summer's cherry camp showed a sense of dissatisfaction and a feeling of estrangement from the society.

In brief summary of the general picture of cultural change; we have wide variations in attitude toward the cultural situation between the older and younger generations in a group representative of many Wisconsin Winnebago communities. In this group, cultural changed in intensity from complete cultural shift of Indian to white traits, to various stages of cultural transition and modification. Finally, there remain a considerable quantity of old Indian traits preserved intact.

From the observation of past and present cultural trends, it appears safe to predict the continuance of now recognized types of cultural change, but we must bear in mind possible future developments brought about by the present war.

As a final note it is important to remark that this study is far from complete, and is but a basis for future research.

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